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O B S E R V A T I O N S

ON THE

SUBJECT OF THE FOURTH ECLOGUE,

THE

ALLEGORY IN THE THIRD GEORGIC,

AND

THE PRIMARY DESIGN OF THE

AENEID OF VIRGIL:

WITH INCIDENTAL REMARKS ON SOME

COINS OF THE JEWS.

K.

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P R E F A C E.

AFTER an avowal so explicit, as that of BISHOP LOWTH, on the THE SUBJECT of the Fourth Eclogue^a; the subsequent discussion may be censured as rash. But, since the difficulties, which, to his Lordship, perplexed the question, will be found to have arisen from a misstatement of facts, it is presumed that, by restoring them to their precise order, the Poet's design will be clearly perceived. The intent of this attempt, being thus to shew it; the subsidiary OBSERVATIONS were therefore annexed.

The REMARKS on the JEWISH COINS, though apparently unconnected with the sub-

^a Quid fuerit ipsius Poetae consilium, quae mens, quanquam hic multum sese exercuerint doctissimorum virorum ingenia, tamen nec adhuc sciri arbitror, neque spem habeo fore ut unquam clare investigetur.

ject, having sprung incidentally from it; they, on that account, were subjoined.

As the reasonings of the accomplished Prelate on the one topic, are discussed with freedom; so are those of the learned Archdeacon, on the other; but, in neither instance, without a proper attention to their respective merits. Whoever contemplates the Praelections of LOWTH, will find the defect here noticed, to be, but as a speck on the disk of the sun: --- and, of BAYER, it may be observed, that, if he seem, at any time, in the dark himself, it is, whilst he holds forth the torch of information to others.



RENDLESHAM,

June 1, 1788.

Lest, in any instance, the arguments of Bishop Lowth should have been inadvertently misstated, they are here prefixed in the words ^b of his Lordship. ---

Apud Latinos extat in hoc ipso genere unum nobilissimum atque pulcherrimum Poema; et vel versuum elegantia et claritate, vel rerum et argumenti obscuritate, aequè admirabile: Quartam dico Virgilii Eclogam; quam idcirco nefas esset hoc in loco silentio praeterire, cum inde a primis aevi Christiani seculis percrebuerit opinio, habere eam cum his de quibus agimus germanae Prophetiae monumentis aliquam cognationem, et a sacro fonte originem duxisse. Quod quomodo fieri potuit, etsi sit forsan expeditu difficile; sive sacri Codicis versionem Graecam, jamdiu tum vulgatam, in subsidium vocemus, sive etiam exinde deprompta Oracula, a Judaeis Hellenistis, ut

^b DE SACRA POESI HEBR. *Praelect.* XXI. 289.

videtur^c, Graeco carmine condita, quae sub nomine Sibyllarum ferebantur; tamen ita rem habere, tot extant tamque manifesta in ipso Poemate indicia, ut omnia, quae ei sententiae obstant, impedimenta facile amoveat et diluat ipsa Carminis lectio. Sensus, Imagines, Dictio etiam cum Sacris Vatibus mirum in modum congruens: res ipsa vel in se tam elata et magnifica, vel potius a Poeta, omnium licet verecundissimo ac severissimo, in eam altitudinem exaggerata, ut mihi nullo modo persuadere possim, quin subsit aliquid *μυσικωτερον*, quod primae hypothese, ipso vate inscio nec opinante, furtim quodammodo accrevit, totique operi alienos quosdam colores induxit, et magnificentiam modum et mensuram argumenti longe exsuperantem. Quid fuerit ipsius Poetae consilium, quae

^c Vide CHANDLERI (*nuper* EPISCOPI DUNELM.) *Vindicias Relig. Christ.* Cap. I. et GROTIUM in MATT. II. I.

mens, quanquam hic multum sese exercuerint doctissimorum virorum ingenia, tamen nec adhuc sciri arbitror, neque spem habeo fore ut unquam clare investigetur. Nullam neque rem neque personam ostendit historia, aut rei Romanae status ac temporum conditio, quae cum argumenti ratione atque adjunctis satis apte congruere videatur, aut tam magnificis predictionibus locum dare ullo modo potuisse^d. Mihi quidem illud usu

^d Viderunt jamdudum eruditi, haec de Salonino Pollionis filio post captas Salonas nato, de quo loquitur Servius, si quis tamen unquam talis extiterit, intelligi non posse; cum ex Dione et Appiano constet, Pollionis expeditionem Illyricam in annum sequentem incidere. Alii itaque de C. Asinio Gallo, ejusdem filio, mentionem injecerunt; multo quidem probabilius, siquidem Asconius Pedianus ab ipso Gallo audisse se retulit, hanc Eclogam in honorem suum factam. Vide SERV. ad Eclog. IV. 11. Sed ipse Servius Gallum anno priore natum, Pollione adhuc Consule designato, affirmat: et quanquam fieri potest talem excidisse jactantiam ab impotentia hominis, quem Augustus dixit imperii se mortuo adipiscendi avidum fore, sed minorem; (TACIT. Annal. I. 13.) vix tamen credibile est Poetam, qui sanus esset, haec tam magnifica de ullo Pollionis filio praedicere potuisse. Ad hoc, cur Divinum hunc Puerum, solummodo Illo Consule, ac non

venire plane profiteor, ut cum Carmen hoc ea ex parte contemplor, quanto id saepius relego, tanto intelligam minus. Is est

potius Illo Patre, nasciturum dixit? quod ad Pollionis gloriam, multo magis pertineret. Itaque jam plerique de Caesare Octaviano, deque puero aliquo in illius familiam et in certam spem imperii nato, haec interpretantur. Juliam, Marcellum, Drusum, memorant. Drusi nec aetas, nec persona convenit. Marcelli aetas convenit, non persona. Juliae quidem Octaviani filiae utrumque favet, modo Eclogam hanc in expectatum Scriboniae puerperium scriptam esset statuamus; ante partum autem scriptam fuisse credibile est, cum Lucina invocetur: "*Casta fave Lucina.*" Verum meminerint, qui aliquam ex his sententiis amplectuntur, quis et quo loco tum fuerit ipse Octavianus; nondum Princeps, et Augustus, et Imperii Romani Dominus, quae omnia ei accreverunt non nisi post victoriam Actiacam, annis omnino novem posteaquam scripta esset haec Ecloga; sed Triumvir, aequata cum Antonio et dignitate et potestate, ne quid dicam de Lepido. Quomodo igitur ad Octaviani filium, si quis ei hoc anno natus fuisset, protinus spectare potuit imperii hereditas? Sed ut concedamus, id quod sane verum est, nullibi digniorem aut aptiorem personam inveniri posse, aut in quam haec melius quadrent quam filius aliquis Octaviani; porro autem ei filium hoc ipso tempore natum fuisse fingamus; ad eum tamen quae hic dicuntur nihilo magis pertinere posse, vel uno argumento evinci arbitror; eo nimirum, quod Pollionis nomine Ecloga inscribatur; nam hucusque, et paulo etiam deinceps, Pollio semper erat in partibus Antonii contra Octavianum. Percurramus

styli nitor, ea carminis elegantia, ut fere lateat et legentes fallat rerum obscuritas : singula autem propius spectanti, et imagi-

enim res gestas Pollionis post Julii Caesaris necem, temporum habita ratione. Anno u. c. 711. C. Asinius Pollio, bello cum Sexto Pompeio gesto, ex Hispania reversus exercitum tradit Antonio post ejus fugam a Mutina. u. c. 713. Pollio Antonii legatus Galliam Cisalpinam tenet : Salvidienum Octaviani legatum, Lucio Antonio bellum inferentem, a tergo insequitur una cum Ventidio; Lucio deinde Perusiae obsessio frustra suppetias ferre conatus, Ravennae subsistit : Venetiam diu retinet in potestate Antonii ; magnisque rebus gestis in ea regione, Antonium petit ; et Domitium Aenobarbum, consiliis suis illectum ac fide data, cum classe cui praeerat jungit Antonio. u. c. 714. Pax Brundusina incidit in finem anni ; cujus administri sunt, ex parte Antonii Pollio Consul, ex parte Octaviani Maecenas, et amborum communis amicus Cocceius : circa hoc tempus scripta est Virgilii Ecloga Quarta. u. c. 715. Antonius Pollionem legatum suum mittit in Illyricum contra Parthinos : de Parthinis triumphat Pollio mense Octobri. Haec VELLEIUS, APPIANUS, DIO. Interciderant etiam circa haec tempora inter Pollionem et Octavianum privatae quaedam inimitiae ; et versus Fescenninos Octavianus in Pollionem scripsit. MACROB. *Saturn.* II. 4. Ab hoc tempore usque ad pugnam Actiacam, quae u. c. 723. ineunte mense Septembri commissa est, partibus sese abstinuit Pollio, neque ultra Antonii et Octaviani discordiis se immiscuit. “ *Non praetereatur,*” inquit VELLEIUS, II. 86. “ *Asinii Pollionis factum et dictum memorabile : nam*

num ac dictionum rationes et momenta perpendenti, tot mihi occurrunt ab usu Romano abhorrentia, a conceptibus hominum ejus aetatis et nationis adeo aliena, ut vix mihi persuadeam, etiam tum, cum primum ederetur, satis perfecte intelligi potuisse. Cum vero haec ipsa adeo luculenter explicet peregrina quaedam Interpretatio ex Hebraeorum rebus ac monumentis superinducta, cujus vim omnem et magnitudinem nullo modo complecti potuerit, aut etiam attingere, ipsius Poetae animus; quid mihi hac in re concedent eruditi, nescio;

cum se post Brundusinam pacem continuisset in Italia," (post triumphum dixisset verius,) "*neque aut vidisset unquam Reginam, aut, post enervatum amore ejus Antonii animum, partibus ejus se miscuisset, rogante Caesare, ut secum ad bellum proficisceretur Actiacum: Mea, inquit, in Antonium majora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora: itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham, et ero praeda victoris."* Quibus omnibus perspectis, mihi omnino incredibile videtur, Virgilium animum inducere potuisse, ut Pollioni, summo Antonii amico, Octaviani potius inimico, mitteret, ejusque nomine inscriberet, Carmen, quod Octaviani laudibus ejusque familiae honori unice dicaretur.

quid sentiam, vix audeo exponere: et tamen dicam, id mihi tam mirabile tamque prodigii simile videri, ut nonnunquam pene inducar, ut serio credam, id semel evenisse, quod Socrates *ειρωνευομενος*, ut solet, apud Platonem de poetis ait^c: *δια ταυτα ο θεος, εξαιρουμενος τουτων νουν, τουτοις χρηται υπηρεταις και τοις χρησμωνδοις και τοις μαντεσι τοις θειοις· ινα ημεις οι ακουοντες ειδωμεν, οτι εχ' ουτοι εισιν οι ταυτα λεγοντες ουτω πολλου αξια, οις νους μη παρεστιν, αλλ' ο θεος αυτος εστιν ο λεγων, δια τουτων δε φθεγεται προς ημας.*

^c PLATO in Ione.



O B S E R V A T I O N S

O N T H E

S U B J E C T

O F T H E

F O U R T H E C L O G U E.

P O L L I O.

SICELIDES MUSAE, paullo majora canamus;
Non omnis arbusta juvant, humilesque myricae.
Si canimus sylvas, sylvae sint Consule dignae.
Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas :
Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit et Virgo : redeunt Saturnia regna :
Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum
Desinet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo,
Casta fave Lucina : tuus jam regnat Apollo.
Teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te Consule, inibit,
Pollio : et incipient magni procedere menses.
Te duce, si qua manent, sceleris vestigia nostri
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.
Ille Deum vitam accipiet, Divisque videbit
Permixtos heroas, et ipse videbitur illis,

Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem.
 At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu,
 Errantis ederas passim cum baccare tellus,
 Mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
 Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
 Ubra: nec magnos metuent armenta leones.
 Ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores.
 Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
 Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.
 At simul heroum laudes et facta parentis
 Jam legere, et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus;
 Molli paullatim flavescet campus arista,
 Incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva:
 Et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.
 Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
 Quae tentare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
 Oppida, quae jubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
 Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae vehat Argo
 Delectos heroas: erunt etiam altera bella:
 Atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles.
 Hinc, ubi jam firmata virum te fecerit aetas,
 Cedet et ipse mari vector; nec nautica pinus
 Mutabit merces: omnis feret omnia tellus.
 Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem.
 Robustus quoque jam tauris juga solvet arator.
 Nec varios discet mentiri lana colores.
 Ipse sed in pratis aries jam suave rubenti

Murice, jam croceo mutabit vellera luto.
 Sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.
 Talia secla, suis dixerunt, currite, fusis
 Concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.
 Adgredero o magnos (aderit jam tempus) honores,
 Cara Deum suboles, magnum Jovis incrementum!
 Adspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
 Terrasque, tractusque maris, caelumque profundum:
 Adspice, venturo laetentur ut omnia seculo.
 O mihi tam longae maneat pars ultima vitae,
 Spiritus et, quantum sat erit tua dicere facta!
 Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
 Nec Linus: huic mater quamvis, atque huic pater adsit:
 Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.
 Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si judice certet,
 Pan etiam Arcadia dicat se judice victum.
 Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem:
 Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.
 Incipe, parve puer: cui non risere parentes,
 Nec Deus hunc mensa, Dea nec dignata cubili est.

WHOEVER will compare the three Prophe-
 cies contained in the second, eleventh, and
 sixty-fifth chapters of ISAIAH, with the
 fourth eclogue of Virgil, can hardly doubt:

whether the same images --- united in combinations opposite to the analogies of nature, applied to similar subjects, and, by both writers, in the way of prediction --- must not have ultimately originated in a common source; and the latter been derived from the former. If so, the agreement in question may be rationally accounted for, without recurring to “a mysterious influence on the mind of the Poet;” especially should it appear that, the Poet himself hath referred to the Jewish Scriptures, as the fountain of such images; in the same manner as to the writings of Homer, for others of Grecian origin. ---- It seems, however, by his Lordship’s concession, that, the necessity for supposing a “mysterious influence” would vanish, could it once be shewn that, the prophecy of Virgil were applicable to any child whose birth was expected, at the time of his writing, different from him whom the Prophet had

foretold. But though no such application could at this distance be traced, it is sufficient to destroy the hypothesis of “an influence from above,” by observing that, in respect to THE MESSIAH, the prediction was false; as the pregnancy of the Virgin did not commence, till long after Pollio was consul. But who then was the child foretold? --- His Lordship having exploded the pretensions of Servius and others, in favor of any son of Pollio; and remarked that, the Poet’s prophecy would neither suit the age, nor situation, of Drusus or Marcellus^a; readily admits its congruity, so far as a *son* is concerned, to the child with whom Scribonia was at that time pregnant. Here the difficulty with his Lordship begins.

^a The advocates for Marcellus, and especially Catrou, would have done well to have remembered that, Marcellus was adopted by Augustus, on his *marriage* with Julia in 729, and not *before*. This fact we have from PLUTARCH:

ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΜΕΝ ἌΜΑ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΜΒΡΟΥ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ.

For how, considering the situation of Octavius at this period, could *his* child be the subject of such a prediction? --- Why, in predicting the future greatness of a son of *Octavius*, should Virgil address his prediction to *Pollio*? --- And, supposing these difficulties solved, how can the *language* of the prediction itself be reconciled to the *subject* of it?

Let us take each question in its order.

1. In stating the situation of Octavius, his Lordship hath unwarily admitted a succession of facts, which, being posterior to the time when the eclogue was written, could not be foreknown by Virgil, and therefore ought not to have been brought into question. In the year 714, when all the horrors of civil discord were impending over Italy, a reconciliation was suddenly effected between Antony and Octavius, at the intervention of Cocceius, Pollio, and Maecenas. The result of this treaty was a

new partition of the Roman world, by which Africa, as Octavius had assigned it, was left to Lepidus ; and Antony, who was to have all between Scodra and the Euphrates, further relinquished, in addition to what he had already ceded, his two most valuable provinces, Spain and Gaul. This convention being amicably ratified, nothing was now left in the west, to thwart the aims of Octavius : for, though Pompey still remained hostile, it was contrary to his own desire ; and by the express stipulation of Octavius with Antony^b. When this eclogue then was written, Octavius was master of Italy, and that part of the empire which, under its own name, comprehended the world. At peace with his colleague abroad, having nothing to apprehend at home, and invested with power to appease those commotions by which the

^b APPIAN. *de bell. civil.* v. 66. DIO. XLVIII. 374.

empire had been so lately convulsed, what might not Octavius hope --- or, what might not the flattery of a Poet, who in circumstances less favorable had stiled him a GOD, now prompt his aspiring mind, and on the ground of a divine prediction, to expect --- would be the future greatness of his son ?

But, 2. it is asked: Why Virgil, on such an occasion, should address this prediction to Pollio, who had not been the friend of Octavius, but of *Antony*?

In answer to this inquiry, it may be observed that, the private misunderstanding, alleged by his Lordship to have arisen between Pollio and Octavius, a year or more *after* Pollio had been consul, is totally beside the question; except as it serves to shew that, from the peace of Brundisium till the rise of this disagreement, Octavius and Pollio were friends; and even that, after it, Octavius was regarded by Pollio in

no worse a light than Antony himself^c. But, whatever political enmity might have existed between them prior to that treaty, they were both unanimous in the patronage of genius. It was whilst Pollio held the territory of Venice for Antony that, his acquaintance with Virgil commenced; and as the splendor of the Poet's talents, which broke through the obscurity of his condition, had attracted the notice of Pollio; so, by his means, they obtained the favor of Octavius: for it is universally allowed that, Pollio, either in person, or by the intervention of some friend (perhaps Varus), brought Virgil to the knowledge of Octavius; who restored to him his patrimony, which the soldiers had usurped. Yet, widely as Octavius and Pollio might have differed before the treaty of pacification, there is no reason to suppose them, after

^c PATERCULUS II. 86.

its confirmation, upon any other than an intimate footing; at least, till that *private* misunderstanding to which his Lordship hath adverted. Now, what could be more natural, what more consistent with the nicest address, than that Virgil, whose poetic talents had first procured him the protection of Pollio, and, by his means, the munificence of Octavius; should offer through his first patron, who was not only at this time Consul, but had been chiefly instrumental, by negotiating the peace, to the establishment of Octavius in power; a poetic compliment to his greater benefactor, on a prediction supposed to point out his son?

Having thus answered two of the questions proposed, it remains to consider the third. Virgil, in the first eclogue, which was written on regaining his estate, confines himself chiefly to his own affairs, and those of his Mantuan neighbours; but, in

the present, his voice is raised to a loftier strain. The *arbusta humilesque myricae* are the concerns of private life contrasted with *sylvae*, such as belong to the empire: thus Rome is said, in the first eclogue, “to rear her head as high above other cities, as the tall cypress above the lowly shrubs.” --- *Si canimus sylvas*, &c. “If woods be my theme, let the *woods* be worthy of the Consul.” This imagery is by no means casual; for we learn from Suetonius^d, that *woods* had been lately made a *consular* care. --- *Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas*: “The last age of the Cumaean prophecy is now come.” It is agreed on all hands, how differently soever the prediction was applied, that, a prediction of a King, about this time to appear, was really contained in the Sibylline verses.

^d --- eandem ob causam opera optimatibus data est, ut provincia futuris Consulibus minimi negotii, id est SYLVAE, callesque decernerentur. Jul. Caes. 19.

Hence, not only Lentulus, as Sallust relates, was incited to engage in Cataline's conspiracy, and vaunted that the king thus foretold would arise in the Cornelian family; but we learn from Cicero that, the official Interpreter of these oracles was expected to apply, in the Senate, this prediction to Caesar: and Suetonius affirms that, the Senate were so terrified at the approaching appearance of this prophetic sovereign, as to decree, That, no male infant, born within the year his birth was looked for, should be brought up. Now, since it is well known that, an expectation had long prevailed throughout the east, of some extraordinary personage, who should establish universal empire; may it not be presumed that, a tradition of the prophecy whence it arose, if it had not reached Rome before, was brought thither by the Deputies of the Senate, who were sent to collect, in different countries, predictions, to replace

the Sibylline, which were burnt? But, were it otherwise, the similarity of Subject between the Sibylline, and Eastern oracle --- which, according to Tacitus^e, was believed to have its origin in the Jewish Scriptures --- will leave no room for surprize, if we see Virgil recurring to *them*, for such images and descriptions as might subserve his design. An intimate alliance had long subsisted between the Romans and the Jews^f; and the numbers of the latter resident in Rome, at the time of Virgil's writing, were very considerable^g. It may be inferred also from the accounts, preserved so long after by Tacitus and Florus, of what Pompey saw in the temple at Jerusalem, that, every particular of the Jewish Religion was an object to interest the curiosity of the Romans. Under the patronage

^e *Hist.* v. 13.

^f I MACCAB. VIII. &c. JOSEPH. *Antiq.* XII. 10.

^g CICERO, *pro Flacco.* 28.

of Julius Caesar (for which the Jews perhaps were indebted to the prophecy in question) the free exercise of their religious rites, with all the privileges of their priesthood, was not only confirmed to them by decrees of the Senate; but they were exempted also from taxes on their sabbatical year, and intitled to the further immunities set forth in their Scriptures^h. Hence, and from the public recital in their synagogues, every sabbath day, of the Law and the Prophetsⁱ; and the translation of them into a language universally read; it may be concluded that, their Sacred Books must have been known both in the provinces, and capital of the empire. The singularities in their ritual, customs, and history, with which their prophecies were inseparably blended; their origin, and even existence

^h JOSEPH. *Antiq.* XIV. 9, &c.

ⁱ ACTS XIII. 14, 15, 27.

as a distinct people ; all looked forward to one great object of consummation : the coming of their predicted sovereign ; under whom, notwithstanding their present misfortunes, they expected a restoration, and the acquisition of dominion, unbounded and eternal^k. To this, and the grounds of their confidence, hath Cicero distinctly adverted : --- *Sua cuique civitati religio, Laeli, est ; nostra nobis. Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judaeis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat. nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis : [sc. against Pompey] quam cara Diis immortalibus esset, docuit, quod est victa, quod elocata, quod servata*^l. These casual

^k ISAIAH IX. 6, 7. JEREMIAH XXX. 10, 11, and the Prophetic Scriptures at large.

^l *Pro Flacco*. 28. — In what respects these hopes of the Jews were abhorrent from those of the Romans, the

notices are sufficient to evince that, Virgil could not have been ignorant of the existence of the Jewish Scriptures. Nor is it to be imagined that, the effulgence of their poetic splendor should have failed to catch his attention, when it is considered that, the whole poesy of Greece was ransacked by him, for imitation. If to this be added, the similarity between the subject of the Jewish prophecies and his own ; a doubt

speeches of Scipio and Canuleius will explain : — *Quid ? si ego morerer, mecum expiratura Respublica, mecum casurum Imperium Populi Romani erat ? Ne istuc Juppiter Optimus Maximus siverit, Urbem auspicato Diis auctoribus in aeternum conditam, fragili huic et mortali corpori aequalem esse.* LIV. XXVIII. — *Quis dubitat, quin in aeternum Urbe condita, et in immensum crescente, nova imperia, sacerdotia, jura gentium, hominumque instituantur.* IV. See also

VIRGIL. *Aen.* I. 280. — It should be noted on the authority of JOSEPHUS, with whom both Tacitus and Suetonius concur, that, the resistance of the Jews to Vespasian, proceeded from the *same persuasion*, to which Cicero ascribes their opposition to Pompey. Το δε παρὰν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἣν χρῆσμος ἀμφιβολία — ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐνεγμενὸς γράμμασιν, ὡς — ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΗΣ. *De bell. Jud.* VI. 5. TACIT. *Hist.* V. 13. SUTTON. *Vespasian.* 4.

can scarcely remain that, the lips of the Sicilian Muses were touched by the Poet, with a coal from the Prophet's altar^m.

Ultima aetas, &c. "The last age of the Cumaeon prediction is now come." Whatever were the particulars of this prediction, or whencesoever derived, the *time* set for its completion coincides with *that* in the Scriptures. --- *Magnus* &c. "The great order of ages again begins : the Virgin is already returning : the Saturnian rule returns." This commencement of the ages, perfectly agrees with Isaiah, who styles the child he foretells, "The Father of the age to come." By the return of Astraea, Virgil alludes to the justice he had himself experienced at the hands of Octavius. The renewal of the Saturnian rule will be best explained by refering to the Poet's account of its former state :

*Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
 Composuit, legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
 Maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
 Aurea quae perhibent, illo sub rege fuerunt
 Secula: sic placida populos in pace regebatⁿ.*

“ He by just laws embodied all the train
 Who roam’d the hills, and drew them to the plain :
 There fix’d ; and Latium call’d the new abode,
 Whose friendly shores conceal’d the latent God.
 These realms in peace the monarch long control’d,
 And bless’d the nations with an age of gold.”

Jam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
 “ A new progeny is now sent down from
 high heaven.” *Sent down*, in opposition
 to the manner of Saturn’s descent :

*- - - ab aethero venit Saturnus Olympo,
 Arma Jovis fugiens, et regnis exsul adeptis^o.*

“ - - - Saturn fled before victorious Jove,
Driven down, and banish’d from the realms above.”

The aid of Lucina is invoked in favor, *nas-*
centi puero, “ of the boy when he comes

to the birth." It is not improbable that, Virgil was induced to apply the Sibylline prediction to this expected son of Octavius, from Isaiah's having dwelt so minutely on the *infancy* of the person foretold. --- *Quo ferrea primum* &c. "with whom the iron age" (or *age of war*) "shall cease, and the golden age shall rise over the world." Though Virgil, when Scribonia, instead of a son, was delivered of a daughter, discovered his mistake as to the PERSON *predicted*, he still continued confident in respect to the FAMILY; and therefore, when, in the *Aeneid*, he resumes the prophecy, makes Anchises point out to Aeneas — under the guidance of the Sibyl — *Augustus*, as the person so often promised. Till, however, a daughter was born, Virgil remained undeceived.

The mention of the golden age rising again over the world, is sufficient proof that, the Virgin whose return he described,

was Astraea ; and as he asserts that, her latest footsteps on earth were discernible in rural retreats :

- - - - - extrema per illos

Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit P —

“ - - - - - last with you

Astraea linger'd, ere she quite withdrew” —

so by adding, “ Apollo now reigns,” he seems to intimate, that, the powers of poetry had triumphed over oppression, and procured him the interposition of justice ; in the restoration of his pasture and flocks. But, though this interpretation may consist with the context, the tenth verse will admit of a fuller sense. After invoking aid from Lucina, it is added, “ thy own Apollo now reigns:” that is, *the Sibylline prediction is begun to be fulfilled*. As Apollo was the God of prophecy, it was in reference to his reigning, under this character,

that, Lucina is invoked to assist in fulfilling the prediction himself had inspired; by granting to the child a propitious birth. The Sibyl was priestess to both these Divinities, and the temple she occupied was consecrated to them. --- *Teque adeo* &c. “During thy consulship, o Pollio! during thine, shall this glory of the age be conceived^a, and the months of gestation advance.” “This glory of the age:” that is, *the age predicted*. It was in the consulship of Pollio that, the marriage of Octavius to Scribonia took place; the *great months* therefore are *the months of her preg-*

^a Or rather, “shall quicken.” An infant may be said VITAM INIRE, *cum jam maternorum viscerum latens onus*. SENECA. *Epist.* CXXIV. Thus, in GENES. XXV. 22: ΕΣΚΙΡΤΩΝ δι τα παιδια εν αυτη. Consult Hippocrates on the first motions of the foetus. HESYCH. in Ἄλμα. — The force of this remark, communicated by a polite and accomplished Scholar, is confirmed by LUCRETIVS, III. 631:

*Praeterea si, jam perfecto corpore, nobis
Inferri solita est animi vivata potestas,
Tum cum gignimur, et vitae cum limen INIMUS—*

nancy, which at this time was advancing. --- *Te duce*, &c. "Under thy management, if any vestiges of our wickedness remain, they shall be effaced, and the world delivered." This plainly refers to the influence of Pollio in negotiating the treaty at Brundisium, and the further exertion of his distinguished talents. --- *Ille Deum vitam accipiet*, &c. "He shall receive the life of Gods," &c. Similar, though still bolder expressions are applied to Augustus in the first Georgic, verse 24. --- *Pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem*. "And shall govern the world at peace, with his FATHER'S virtues." To whom could this apply but a son of Octavius, and the son whom, it was believed, the prediction had foretold? Hence follows the description of the golden age corresponding with the imagery of Isaiah, to verse 26. --- *At simul* &c. "But as soon as thou shalt be able to read the praises of heroes, and the atchieve-

ments of thy father, and to understand what the energy of valor can effect, the spacious field shall by degrees become yellow with the bending ear." That is, before you be old enough to view on those plains, which have so lately been the theatre of heroism and horror, the devastations of civil discord; its vestiges shall gradually disappear, and the tranquil occupations of husbandry shall hide them. --- *Pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis, &c.* " But there shall remain beneath the surface some traces of ancient fraud." This obviously alludes to the conduct of Pompey, especially in respect to Sardinia, which so much incensed Octavius that, he not only rejected the mediation of Antony, who had bound himself by oath to reconcile him, but even covenanted in the treaty of Brundisium to pursue Pompey with war^r. --- *Erunt*

^r APPIAN. *de bell. civil.* v. 66. D I O. XLVIII. 374.

etiam altera bella, atque iterum ad Trojam magnus mittetur Achilles. “There shall also be other hostilities, and the great Achilles shall again be sent to Troy.” These “other hostilities” have a prospective allusion to the war against the Parthians; which, being undertaken, like the Trojan war, for the revenge of perfidy, and recovery of the Roman eagle; induced the Poet to style their country “Troy;” and Antony, who was to wage it, “the great Achilles^s.” --- Of verses 32,3,4. no appropriate explanation can be given; for, unless we allow Virgil the spirit of prophecy, he could have meant nothing determinate by them. The Poet, after this, resumes the images expressive of the golden age, as before. --- *Cara Deum suboles, magnum Jovis incrementum!* &c. “O beloved offspring of the Gods, great increase of

Jove ! ” &c. is not only consonant to the language of Scriptural prediction, but, in the sense of Virgil, befitting to none but a *Caesar*. The substitution, noticed by Strabo, of Παν̄εσσιν for Τρῳεσσιν --- *shall reign over ALL NATIONS*, instead of, *over the TROJANS* --- in the following passage :

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίη ΤΡΩΕΣΣΙΝ ἀναξεί,

Καὶ παῖδες παῖδων, τοῖς κεν μετοπίσθι στεῦνται — ¹

“ Oe’r *Trojans* now Aeneas’ house shall reign,
And sons succeeding sons the lasting line sustain”—

was undoubtedly made by Virgil, who translated it ---

Hic domus Aeneae CUNCTIS dominabitur oris,

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis — ²

“ Here the *wide world*, Aeneas’ house shall sway,
And down from son to son, th’ imperial power convey”—

both to favor the presumed descent of Augustus from Aeneas, and the plan of

¹ ILIAD, XX. 307. — ² AEN. III. 97.

the Aeneid, as founded upon it. Accordingly, where the Poet prefigures his Epic under the idea of a temple to Augustus, he intimates his design of placing in it the statues of his Hero's Progenitors :

*Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,
Assarici proles, demissaque ab Jove gentis
Nomina, Trosque parens, et Trojae Cynthius auctor* ♀.

“ Around in order'd ranks an awful band,
Of Parian marble, breathing forms, shall stand :
Thy seed, Assaracus, a mighty line
That drew from Jove its origin divine :
Next Tros, whom Troy her ancient father calls,
With him, the God who rear'd her lofty walls.”

The *nomina* DEMISSAE *ab* JOVE *gentis*, here artfully obtruded for the genealogy of the *House of Caesar*, bears a striking affinity to the *nova progenies caelo demittitur alto* of the Eclogue, as well as to the *DIVI genus* of the Aeneid.

There are other passages of the Eclogue which, in this attempt at illustration, have been omitted, for the sake of brevity; although they would have reflected additional light on the interpretation which is here offered. Such images of the Poet as approach nearest to those of the Prophet, are also purposely passed over; because, both in Virgil and Isaiah, they have no specific destination; but are used as generally symbolical of innocence and happiness: and that this was the more obvious mode of interpreting the Prophetic Scriptures is certain; for the Jews, from those very images in the Prophet, have constantly inferred that, their promised Messiah would be a *temporal sovereign*.

But there will be no necessity to enlarge on this head; for, notwithstanding what is advanced in the Lecture, on the incongruity of Virgil's language to his subject, upon any other idea than that of a mysterious

relation to the Messiah and his kingdom ; it is the voluntary concession of his Lordship, in the note, “ that, no person could be any where found more worthy of this prophetic Eclogue, nor whom it would more aptly fit, or with whom its contents would better quadrate, than a son of Octavius ; provided it could be shewn that a son was born to him, in the year when Pollio was consul.” Now, though it be impossible to supply the proof which his Lordship requires ; yet, so far as the spirit of the postulate is concerned, a satisfactory answer can be given. For notwithstanding upon the present hypothesis (which perfectly harmonizes with the history of facts) Octavius had no child, till the year *after* Pollio was consul^w, and then only a

^w The following statement of facts from Appian and Dio, will place this matter in the clearest light : — The consulship of Pollio commenced with the year 714 ; in the former part of that year, Octavius married Scribo-

daughter ; yet, as Scribonia became pregnant in the consulship of Pollio, and the Eclogue was written in that very year, Virgil (whatever the coincidence of the time with the adopted prediction, might have led him to expect) certainly could not know, without the gift of prescience, the *sex* of this unborn child.

nia ; towards the close of it, the treaty of peace was confirmed ; and early in the following, Julia was born. — *PROFESSOR HEYNE*, from verses 11 and 61, concludes that, the birth of the child foretold, was expected to happen in 714 ; but it is evident from verse 10, that the 61 must be taken proleptically ; and there is nothing in verse 11 to carry back the pregnancy so far as his position demands.

ON THE
ALLEGORY
IN THE
THIRD GEORGIC.

GEORGIC. III. 8.

- - - Tentanda via est, qua me quoque possim
Tollere humo, victorque virum volitare per ora.
Primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas :
Primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas : —

THESE lines are part of an Allegory, intended to prefigure the AENEID ; which Virgil was at this time meditating, in honor of his patron Augustus. They exhibit the Poet in an agonistic capacity ; and, from a consciousness of his powers, secure of success. In the solemnities of the Py-

thian Games, not those only who were eminent for athletic skill, but such also as excelled in mental endowments, were equally admitted to contend. It was therefore in a competition of this kind, that Virgil proposed to engage. The summit of the Aonian mount being the scene of this projected contest; and the leading thence the Muses of Greece the object; it follows that, the highest honors of poesy were to be the prize, and HOMER the destined Antagonist. Hence, the fable of the Grecian Bard was adopted by his Roman Rival, and every incident selected from it, that, could give energy to emulation. How far the success anticipated by Virgil, was realized in the judgment of his countrymen, the exultation of Propertius may help to decide :

- - - - - *Cedite, Graii !*

Nescio quid majus nascitur ILIADE.

Having come off victorious, at least in idea, the Conqueror, as was usual with

victors in the Grecian games, salutes his natal soil with the promise of a triumphal return; and of bringing back to it, a *second* time, the emblems of his conquest:

PRIMUS Idumaeas referam tibi Mantua palmas.

In explanation of the Allegory, it may be observed that, by *Mantua*, is to be understood his *native language*; which he now purposes to honor with an EPIC as superior to Homer's, as he had surpassed Theocritus, in ECLOGUE: --- the *Muses of the Aonian Mount* characterizing the *one*, and *Those of Sicily* the *other*:

SICELIDES MUSAE! paullo majora canamus. —

The *palms* to grace this second triumph, like those he had borne to signalize the former, were to be IDUMAEAN: that is, *the APPROPRIATE IMAGERY of the JEWISH PREDICTIONS*. --- To support this interpretation; it may be alleged that, were *palmas*, in the midst of a context indispu-

tably *allegorical*, to be taken, as it has been by the Commentators, *literally*; every principle of just construction must be subverted. Had *palmas* been used without any attribute, it might have been difficult to ascertain its meaning; but, with *Idumaeas* as an index, and the reference to the *Fourth* Eclogue, which the *Primus referam tibi Mantua* contains; it becomes obvious, on consulting the Aeneid, what sense *palmas* was designed to resume. That *Idumaea* was, amongst the Romans, an appellative of *Judaea*, no authority is wanted to prove; and that, the *Palm* was the symbol of the *Jewish State*, is certain, both from Roman Coins, and its *own*^a.--- But the address of the Poet, in adapting this imagery to his subject, will be the more conspicuous; if it be considered that, as *palm-leaves* were the first materials upon

^a See the plate prefixed to *Remarks on Jewish Coins*.

which the Easterns were accustomed to write^b, it is in the highest degree probable, the *Jewish Scriptures* were written upon them. Accordingly, the Sibyl, whom Virgil describes committing her predictions to leaves^c, is said by Varro to have adopted

^b PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* XIII. 21. This is related generally of the Aegyptians, from whom the Jews were reputed to have sprung. DIODOR. SICUL. I. 28. TACIT. *Hist.* v. 3.

^c *Huc ubi delatus Cumaeam adcesseris urbem,
Divinosque lacus, et Averno sonantia sylvis;
Insanam Vatem adspicies: quae rupe sub ima
Fata canit, FOLIISQUE notas et nomina mandat.
Quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina Virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atque antro seclusa relinquit.
Illa manent inmota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt.
Verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, et teneras turbavit janua frondis,
Numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,
Nec revocare situs, aut jungere carmina curat.*

“ There when arriv’d you visit *Cuma*’s tow’rs,
Where dark with shady woods *Avernus* roars,
You see the Sibyl in her rocky cave,
And hear the furious Maid divinely rave.
The dark decrees of *fate* the Virgin sings,
And writes on LEAVES, names, characters, and things.

for her purpose those of the *palm* : --- in
foliis PALMAE interdum notis, interdum
scribebat sermonibus. --- This Sibyl was
claimed by the *Jews*, for a native of *their*
country^d, evidently from the fact recorded

The mystic numbers, in the cavern laid,
Are rang'd in order by the Sacred Maid ;
There they repose in ranks along the floor ;
At length a casual wind unfolds the door ;
The casual wind disorders the decrees,
And the loose fates are scatter'd by the breeze.
She scorns to range them, and again unite
The fleeting scrolls, or stop their airy flight."

^d Επεγραφή δε παρὰ ἙΒΡΑΙΟΙΣ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
Παλαιστίνης Γυνὴ χρησμολόγος Ὅι δὲ αὐτὴν ΒΑΒΥΛΩ-
ΝΙΑΝ, ἑτέροι δὲ ΣΙΒΥΛΛΑΝ καλοῦσιν ΑἰΓΥΠΤΙΑΝ.
PAUSANIAS. X. 12. — Who these *Hebrews above*
Palaestine were, may be seen from ISAIAH IX. 1.
MATT. III. 15. The epithets *Babylonian* and *Aegyptian*
applied to the *Sibyl*, are easily accounted for: the
latter, from the national rise of the *Jews* in *Aegypt*; and
the former, from their long residence in *Babylon*. That
the *Sibyl* here mentioned, was the *CUMAEAN* — see
SALMASIUS ad *Solin.* 647. — The pretension of the
Jews to the *Sibyl*, as a native of their country, is equally
well founded with the application of this prophecy to
Vespasian: for *She* might as properly be said to have
been of *Palaestine*, because her prediction was taken from

by Suetonius: “ that, an ancient and uniform opinion had been celebrated throughout the East, of an *Universal Sovereign* destined to proceed from JUDAEA^e:” *which oracle*, according to Tacitus, “ *was believed to be contained in the JEWISH SCRIPTURES* ^f.”

the *Jewish Scriptures*; as a *Roman* to have been a *Jew*, from chancing to be, when *nominated* Emperor, in *Judaea*. — Ην ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣ αμφιβολος ὁμοίως ἐν ΤΟΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ εὐρημενος ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ, “ ὡς κατὰ τον καιρον εκεινον, απο της χωρας ΤΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ αρξει της οικουμενης.” ΤΟΥΤΟ ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ὡς οικειον εξελαβον, και πολλοι των σοφων επλανηθησαν περι την κρισιν. ιδηλου δ’ αρα περι την ΟΥΤΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΥ το λογιον ηγεμονιαν, αποδειχθεντος επι ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ αυτοκρατορος. JOSEPH. *De bell. Jud.* vi. 5.

^e *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fati, ut, eo tempore, Judaea profecti rerum potirentur.* Vespas. 4.

^f *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum litteris contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judaea rerum potirentur.* Hist. v. 13.



ON THE
PRIMARY DESIGN
OF THE
ÆNEID.

THIS Poem, notwithstanding the applause it received from the Romans, must be acknowledged inadequate to the boast of its Author^a. That ideal perfection, which genius fondly contemplates as attainable, is invariably found to elude its pursuit. Hence, Virgil, at the close of life, conscious that, after all his efforts, his success fell short of his aim^b; consigned, as

^a See the Allegory in the *Third Georgic*, as before explained.

^b Part of an Epistle from Virgil to Augustus, on this subject, is still extant: *Ego vero frequentes a TE literas*

abortive, his labors to the flames. The Aeneid, however, must have been to his Contemporaries, far more interesting than can now be conceived. Yet, whatever were its merits in their estimation, it cannot be doubted that, the *consistency* of its parts, and its *symmetry* as a whole; entirely depend on its PROPHEPIC CHARACTER. The expectations of an Universal Sovereign, raised throughout the East, by the Jewish predictions; and at Rome, by the Sibylline; presented Virgil with the happiest opportunity, of accommodating to the one the descriptions of the other; blending the congruent tendencies of both; and pointing them, from the Iliad^c, to effect his design. This was -- To reconcile a vain

accipio. — De Aenea quidem meo, si mehercules jam dignum auribus haberem tuis, libenter mitterem. Sed tantum inchoata res est; ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar: cum praesertim, ut scis, alia quoque studia ad id opus, multoque potiora, impertiar.

^c See page 25.

and superstitious People to the late subversion of their Republic; by insinuating that, the establishment of *The House of Caesar* in the person of AUGUSTUS, and the consequent extension of their empire, were irrefragable proofs of his being THE UNIVERSAL SOVEREIGN, SO LONG PROMISED; and THE DIVINE OFFSPRING OF JUPITER HIMSELF^d.

- - - - - *Hic Caesar, et omnis Iuli*
Progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
 AUGUSTUS CAESAR, Divi genus : *aurea condet*
Secula qui rursus Latio, regnata per arva
Saturno quondam ; super et Garamantas et Indos
Proferet imperium^e. &c.

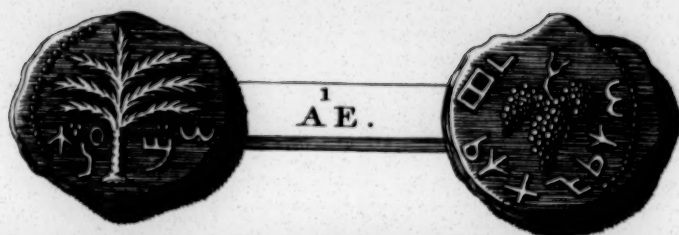
^d Hence the true reason for attributing *divine honors* to Augustus. The pedigree, traced by Homer, from *Jupiter* to *Aeneas*, is this : — JUPITER, Dardanus, Ericthonius, Tros, Assaricus, Capys, Anchises ; to whom *Venus* bore *Aeneas*, — the vaunted founder of the JULIAN race. Thus, JULIUS CAESAR, in Suetonius : — *AVENERE Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra.* 6.

^e AEN. VI. 790.

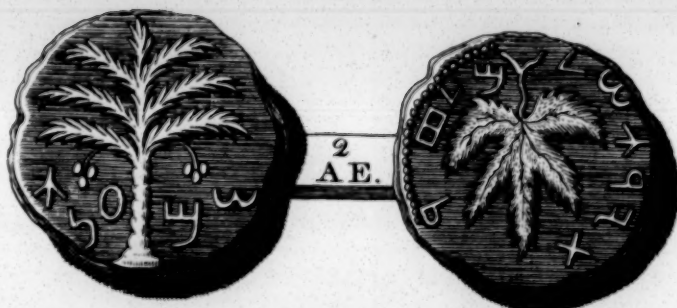
" Turn, turn thine eyes! see here thy race divine,
 Behold thy own imperial Roman line :
Caesars with all the *Julian name* survey;
 See where the glorious ranks ascend to day! —
 This — this is *he!* the *chief so long foretold*,
 To bless the land where Saturn rul'd of old,
 And give the Latian realms a second age of gold!
 The promised prince, AUGUSTUS the *divine*,
 Of *Caesar's* race, and Jove's *immortal line!*
 This mighty chief his empire shall extend
 O'er Indian realms, to earth's remotest end."







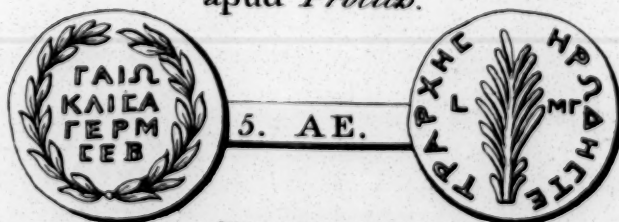
apud Bayer.



1. 2. 3.



apud Frölich.



Flindell. sculp. Ipswich.

R E M A R K S
O N
J E W I S H C O I N S.

THE *PALM* seems to have become the *symbol* of the JEWISH STATE, not because Judaea abounded with the noblest of the kind; but from their having served to exemplify, in the prospect vouchsafed to Moses, the fertility of the Promised Land; and denominate the first city in it, over which the Israelites were enabled to triumph^a. In confirmation of this conjec-

^a DEUTER. XXXII. 49. XXXIV. 3. TACITUS hath not only borne testimony to the *fertility* of Judaea, but particularly noted the growth of its palms: — *uber solum. EXUBERANT fruges nostrum ad morem: praeterque eas balsamum et Palmae. PALMETIS proceritas et decor. Hist. v. 6.* — PLINY, discriminating the varieties of palms, after mentioning the *Caryotae* as the most emi-

ture, several of their coins might be cited ; which, presenting on one side a *palm-tree*, have *grapes*, or a *vine-leaf* on the other ; in allusion to the cluster carried back from Eshcol, by the Twelve who were sent to spy out the land^b. ---- But, whatever might have been its origin, there cannot be a doubt that, the *national symbol* was the PALM.

This symbol indeed was exhibited on their coins under different forms, according as their circumstances differed : whence, to express their *independent* condition, *the tree itself yielding fruit* was adopted^c ; but whilst

nent, adds : — *Sed ut copia ibi atque fertilitas, ita nobilitas in Judaea, nec in tota, sed Hiericunte MAXIME. Hist. Nat. XIII. 9.* The like account is given by GALEN : — ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΙ δ' αὐτοὶ γεγῶνται κατὰ τὴν Παλαιστίνην Συρίαν ἐν ἹΕΡΙΚΟΥΝΤΙ. *De Aliment. II.*

^b See the Plate of Coins, 1, 2. — NUMBERS XIII. 2, 17, 23.

^c Coins, 1, 2.

they languished in a state of *dependence* a *detached branch* was the sign --- along with a *crown* to mark their subjection ; sometimes on the opposite sides, and at others on the same^d.

A crown of laurel, on the Roman coin, is easily explained, it being the general attribute of conquest ; whilst on those which relate to the Syrian Kings, its design is still more obvious ; since, in addition to their other imposts, they exacted a *golden one*^e, to evince their supremacy

^d Coins 5, 3. — Similar figures occur in the Scriptures : thus, *To flourish like the PALM-TREE*, was proverbial of the *highest prosperity* ; whilst an *abject condition* was indicated by a *mutilated branch*, sometimes joined to a *crown*, the emblem of *triumph*. PSALM XCII. 12. ISAIAH XIV. 19, XXV. 5. WISDOM IV. 2, 4, &c.

^e Στεφανῶν χρυσεῖον. — By comparing the crowns on coins 5, and 3, it will be found that, the *Syrian* and *Roman* were of *different* laurels ; the former (probably in imitation of Alexander's — STEPHANON quem vocant Alexandri. PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 39) consisting of the *Alexandrian* ; the berries of which grow on the back of its leaves : — ἡ Ἀλεξανδρεῖα δαφνὴ ΕΠΙΦΥΛΛΟΚΑΡΠΟΣ.

over the Jewish nation, with a *palm-branch* annexed, in admission of their claim.

The coin, number 3, where these emblems appear, is referred, by the venerable and sagacious BAYER, to the first year of Simon^f. But, allowing his decision on the year to be right, it cannot be admitted in respect to the *occasion*. He supposes it stricken to commemorate *the redemption of ISRAEL*; and therefore that, its reverse alluded, either to the crown and palm sent by Simon and the Jews to Demetrius *Nicator*; or, else, to those presented by Al-

THEOPHRAST. *Hist. Plant.* I. 16, III. 17, 253. — and the latter formed from the *barren*; of which species was the sprig, sent from heaven to Augustus. PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* xv. 39. It will be no objection to this discrimination that, the Syrian crown on coin 4, is *ακαρπος*, or *unproductive*, when the reason for the omission comes to be assigned.

^f DE NUMIS HEBRAEO-SAMARITANIS, 152. *Valentiae Edetanorum*, M.DCC.LXXXI. A work whose exterior beauty, though scarcely to be equalled, is barely proportionate to its intrinsic merit.

cimus^g. --- That it had not, however, the latter for its object, may be gathered, not only from the intervention of at least twenty years ; but, also, from *their* having been presented to Demetrius *Soter*, together with a ΘΑΛΛΩΣ^h, unnoticed on the

g 1 MACCAB. XIII. 37. — 2 MACCAB. XIV. 3, 4.

^h These Θαλλοι are stated by this learned Writer to have been golden olive branches, belonging to the temple at Jerusalem, and stolen by Alcimus from it : — *fuere in eo templo [sc. Zorobabelis] thalli siue rami olivarum aurei, quos Alcimus furto, ut videbatur, sublato, Demetrio Soteri ad annum Seleucidarum CLI. obtulisse, non ita pridem diximus.* The authority he refers to, is this : “ Now one Alcimus, who had been High Priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling with the Gentiles, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar, came to king Demetrius in the hundred and fifty-first year, presenting unto him a crown of gold and a palm, *εἰφανον χρυσουν και φοινικα*, and in addition to these, one of those deemed to be thalli of the temple : *προς δε τουτοις των νομιζομενων θαλλων του ιερου* ” — But how far this narrative will support his positions, deserves to be briefly inquired.

As the *thalli* are said by the Archdeacon to have been of gold, so, likewise is the palm ; [— *coronam illam palmamque auream, quas Alcimus Summus olim Sacerdos Deme-*

coin. It may be added that, as this tributary acknowledgment, though tendered in the name of the Jewish Nation, was

trio Soteri ad annum Graecorum CLI. obtulit. 152.] but allowing, contrary to constructive order, that χρυσου may be transferred from στεφανον to Φοινικα, it can by no means be extended to Θαλλων; neither can this epithet, in its proper inflexion, be understood of *them*, but on the evidence of some voucher hitherto unknown.

Nor is it clearer that *they belonged to the JEWISH temple*: for if the present text be received, the utmost implied in it is that, this *thallus* was *thought by Demetrius and his council*, to be *of the temple*; without a hint of *the temple at JERUSALEM*, or surmize that, *Alcimus stole it*. It must not, however, be disguised that, other copies, instead of των νομιζομενων, have τοις νομιζομενοις, which is plainly a better reading, and thus varies the sense: — “*presenting to him (Demetrius) a golden crown and palm, and in addition to these, REQUIRED BY LAW, a thallus of the temple.*” Whence, it is evident that, the former being the crown-tax imposed on the Nation, was presented by Alcimus as such; whilst the latter was his own voluntary tender.

These Θαλλοι are affirmed also to have been BRANCHES of the OLIVE, though not with sufficient precision: for Θαλλος is not an *olive-branch* vaguely; but, properly, *one that bears fruit*: ιδιως μεντοι ο της ελαιας κλαδος, ΘΑΛΛΟΣ καλειται· ωσπερ ο της αμπελου, κλημα. POLLUX. I. 237. In the present case it corresponds to the Ειρσιωνη of the Greeks, [Ειρσιωνη. Θαλλος ελαιας — κ. τ. λ. SCHOLI-AST on Aristophanes.] as the circumstances of the history

not only unauthorized by them, but stiled
 “ *a foolish enterprize* ;” and that, Alcimus
 himself was degraded and disclaimed; there

will evidently shew. — Alcimus, having been one of those who, to conciliate the favor of Antiochus Epiphanes, had complied with “ *the ordinances of the Heathen* ;” was appointed, by the Son of that King, High Priest, in the room of Menelaus. Perceiving, however, on the death of his patron, that, his office was no longer tenable, nor his person safe; he availed himself, as his only expedient, of the accession of Demetrius; and, accordingly, at the head of his party, under pretense of being publickly deputed, repaired to the new Sovereign, and presented to him, not only the crown-tax imposed on his Nation, but likewise a *thallus*; at once to indicate their *peaceful disposition*, and *supplicate* for himself readmission to his office. —

That the Θάλλος, or Είρεσιωνη, was used, on occasions like the *former*, may be seen in POTTER'S *Archæologia*; and, for purposes like the *latter*, in the OEDIPUS TYRANNUS. It will be proper to add that, the του ἱεροῦ was designed to point out, not WHENCE the thallus was brought; but of WHAT KIND it was: this the Archdeacon's citation may serve to evince: — ην δε (sc. ἱερεῖα του Απολλωνος) ΚΛΑΔΟΣ απο ΤΗΣ ἹΕΡΑΣ ΕΛΛΙΑΣ — κ.τ.λ. PLUTARCH. in *Theseo*. The epithet, “ *of the temple*,” was a necessary addition, to distinguish ἸΚΤΗΠΙΟΙ κλαδοί [Oedipus Tyr. 3.] or SUPPLICATORY branches from those Θάλλοι which answered to the לולב of the Jews. This Είρεσιωνη (for so it is stiled by JOSEPHUS) besides the citron, consisted of a germinating palm-shoot, and myrtle

is no room for supposing *this* device could at all relate to *him*, or to *them*.

Nor, on reviewing the history, will it

sprigs in berry, bound round it with twigs of the willow. [ETYMOLOGIC. MAG. 303. SCHOLIA on the Plutus of Aristophanes, 1055. — LEVIT. XXIII. 40. JOSEPHUS Antiq. III. 10, XIII. 11. R. MAIMONIDES in הלכות, VII. 1. MISCHNA, סוכה, III. 8. De Numis Heb. Samar. 129.] Simon hath impressed it on several of his coins, particularly on those subjoined; of which the former, as appears both from its legends [— שנת חצי, *In the fourth year. The Half.* —] and reverse, had a retrospect to the abrogation of that most oppressive tax, “*The HALF of the fruit of the trees:*” (1 MACCAB. X. 30.) — the *Palm* being substituted for *Judaea itself*, and the TWO MEASURES filled with FRUIT, for an EQUAL PARTITION of its produce §.



Bouteroue, who first published an engraving of this coin, pronounced it, from the word חצי, “*the HALF,*”

§ On this coin the Archdeacon of Valencia makes the following remarks: — *Aversam faciem in qua palma cui bini binc inde adsident corbes pleni fructibus, ita describit atque explicat Ottius: Altera facies*

be found that, *this* coin respected the present of Simon. --- The competition which had long subsisted for the Syrian crown,

to be a *HALF-shekel*; supposing that השקל had been obliterated from the roundel of the legend. Others have implicitly adopted his opinion; but Bayer, though cautious of yielding his assent, hath avoided to suggest any other

numi ejusdem majoris, quae cum palma duos fascies, aut potius duo vascula habet, vel ad eosdem fasciculos de quibus jam multis dictum est (*nimirum ad לולב Luláv*) referri potest; vel quod supra diximus ad manna depluens, quod puncta illa notare videntur: in quo unum id obstat quod vasa duo compareant; nisi velimus palmarum ubertatem illa notâ significari, atque Judaeae fertilitatem. Haec Ottius cui numus valde exesus obtigerat, ut ex ejus ectypo deprehenditur.

Relandus ejusdem commatis alium è Ser. Galliarum Regis cimeliis protulit, meliuscule quidem habitum, sed cui, si cum nostro conferatur, plurimum nativae integritatis decessisse appareat. Etenim nec mali citrei vestigium exstat in priore ejus facie, nec myrtea grana in fasciculis; neque in posteriore decidui è palma fructus supereffluentesque iis corbes satis expressi sunt, ut ejus ectypum ostendit: quo factum ut Relandus binos fascies pro totidem frugum manipulis, corbes autem pro mensuris vel vasis vel modiis frumento recipiendo destinatis habuerit; quodque in alio ejusdem numi ectypo, nescio quid inter duos frugum manipulos observaverit, quod pro malo citreo habitum fuit à Joanne Ottio.

Mibi utcumque is numus integer ac perspicuus obtigerit, ut vidimus, nihil hactenus occurrisse fateor, quo Relandi Ottiive conjecturae juvari, aut iisdem certi quidquam superstrui possit. Verum, quae palmam cum plenis et superfluentibus dactylorum corbibus Judaeae regionis ubertatis symbolum esse existimat, ea mihi prae reliquis semper visa est simplicior ac vero similior. Etenim quae ibidem de binis ramorum fascibus ac depluente è caelis Manna; atque alio loco, de duodecim fontibus ac septuaginta palmis ad quas olim filii Israël castrametati sunt in Elim idem Ottius subdit, paulo longius petita sunt. De Numis Heb. Sam. 130.

eventually tended to favor the Jews, by affording them a pretext for withholding their tribute; at least, whilst the Sove-

explication. He observes indeed, from a more perfect specimen of the coin, that the word *השקל* made no part of its legend; but assigns no direct reason why it should not be understood. It is, notwithstanding, evident that, this coin could not be *the HALF* of a *Shekel*; for it not only differs from the *Shekel* in device, but also in metal; and is neither of a proportional weight, nor worth. When the date of it, as expressed by its legends: "*In the FOURTH YEAR*" — "*of the Redemption of Zion:*" is considered, a strong presumption will thence result, in favor of the explanation already offered; and which, the coin that follows will further confirm.



On the face of this coin is represented the *Lulab*, as before, only that, the citron is transferred to the opposite side; where, enlarged and inverted, it forms the reverse. The legends are the same as in the last, excepting that, instead of *רביע*, "*the HALF*," "*the FOURTH*," is inserted. Now, as *רביע* in the former instance was understood of the *Shekel*, so likewise hath been *רביע* in this. But, against this interpretation, besides the objections opposed to the former, it should

reignty might remain undetermined. Their weight would have given to either scale a decisive preponderance, and of this each

be added that, to whatever integer "*The Half*" belonged, this "FOURTH" could not possibly belong to the same: for, though both coins be of the same metal, and date; yet, whilst the former weighs but 262 grains, and the latter 189, they must have referred to a different standard. Hence it appears that, as "*the Half*" had no relation to the *Shekel*, so neither had *this "Fourth."* — The question then returns: To what does it relate? — It may be replied: to the following prescription of the LAW: "*When ye shall come into the land, and shall have planted all manner of trees for food; then ye shall count the fruit thereof uncircumcised: three years shall it be uncircumcised to you: it shall not be eaten of. But, in the FOURTH YEAR, all the FRUIT thereof shall be holy to praise Jehovah withal.*" LEVIT. XIX. 23.

To these two coins, Archdeacon Bayer hath annexed specimens of six others; severally, indeed, differing in weight; but of the same metal, date, legends, and device: their faces presenting a single *Lulab* between two citrons, with the words שנת ארבע, *In the fourth year*; and their reverses, לנאלת ציון, *of the redemption of Zion*, inscribed round a cup with a beaded brim. — Though, of these, no explanation is offered, their design is apparently clear. Cups, thus ornamented, were so common amongst the Jews, as to furnish models for this kind of work. Hence, the brim of the molten sea for the temple, was to be wrought like "*the brim of a Cup.*" 1 KINGS VII. 26.

king was aware; but, hoping to succeed by other means, both were unwilling to grant them independance, for the sake of obtaining a temporary aid. At length, however, Demetrius profered this condition: but no sooner was his rival dead, and himself at peace, than he resumed the claims he had so lately annulled. Tryphon, who was of Alexander's party, at once seized the occasion; and having set up Antiochus, in the

The deliverance of the Jews from the Syrian yoke, being analogous to that of their Ancestors from the Aegyptian; Simon naturally reverted, for the restoration of their polity, to the original constitutions of their State. In a revision for this purpose, the injunction cited, concerning their *fruits*, cannot be supposed to have escaped his attention; especially, since the year itself — it being the *fourth* — pointed out the *Lulab* for a kindred device. The *Cup* therefore appears to indicate that, the *wine* of *THIS year* was to be deemed “*a drink offering*” of the Nation, *for the redemption of Zion*; in respect to which, Simon might have made, the words of David, his own:

I will take the *CUP* of DELIVERANCE,
And call on the name of Jehovah:
I will pay my vows to Jehovah,
In the presence of all his People.

room of his father, immediately sought the support of the Jews. To punish the deceit of Demetrius, they powerfully aided his opponent ; and the forces of the former were defeated, and dispersed. Tryphon, judging this the opportunity for effecting his purpose, that no obstacle from the Jews might prevent its success, treacherously cut off their Leader ; and, after assassinating the King, himself had set up, assumed, as his own, the Syrian crown; and arrogated its appendent claims. An alliance with the Romans, and other States, having lately been ratified by the Jews; and the strong holds of their country fortified; Simon, the new Governor, availed himself of these advantages : and, to be revenged on Tryphon for his perfidy, offered to Demetrius, provided “ *he would give the land an immunity,*” to acknowledge his right to the throne. A deputation was appointed to negotiate the treaty ; and, according to

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eastern usageⁱ, a present provided to suit the commission. This consisted of a crown conjoined to a palm : the former, to recognize Demetrius, as king; the latter, to intimate the independence of the Jews; and their conjunction to express the union of both. Demetrius accepted the present; and, acquiescing in the overture of Simon, formally remitted the arrears withholden, abrogated his claim of tribute in future, renounced the crown-tax and appendage that marked their dependence, and declared the Nation to be *free*. In memorial of this joyful event a new aera was commenced : *“ the People beginning to write in their instruments and contracts : in the first year of Simon the High Priest, the governor and leader of the Jews^k. ”* --- To comme-

ⁱ NUMBERS XXII. 7. MACCAB. X. 20, 89. XI. 58, &c.

^k I MACCAB. XIII. 41, 42.

morate, however, this deliverance, not the coin 3, but 4, was stricken; as its legends and device indisputably shew. On its face, the discriminative emblems of the Syrian King and Jewish Nation are so represented, as to suit both their *former*, and *new* situation. It has been already noticed, on the evidence of their coins, that, the Palm, though the general symbol of the Jewish State, was exhibited differently, when its circumstances changed; and it deserves to be further pointed out, that, *this*, sent to Demetrius by Simon, differed from *that*, which Alcimus tendered; the one being stiled BAINH, and the other ΦΟΙΝΙΞ. That Φοινιξ was used for a *branch of the palm-tree*, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt¹; but what Βαινη was intended to describe, has hitherto been left unexplain-

¹ Του μεντοι Φοινικος, και ο κλαδος ομωνυμως Φοινιξ καλεϊται, και ραβδος Φοινικος. PÖLLUX. i. 244.

ed. This word, in our ancient Version, translated *a precious stone*, was afterwards rendered *a scarlet robe*; perhaps, from a mistaken reference to the robe sent by Alexander to Jonathan^m. Others stile it *a robe*; supposing it of that sort, called by the Romans *palmata*. The Vulgate substitutes *bahem*, Castalio *torques*, Reyna, and Valera *el collar*; whilst Luther understands it of a *palm-branch*, to which also Bayer accedes: yet this, though nearest, falls short of its import. --- It is remarked by Philo, in his life of Moses, concerning the species of palm for which Judaea was so famous, and which he calls the best of trees, that, contrary to the nature of other kinds, its vital principle (*ἡ ζωτικὴ δύναμις*) is seated, not in its *roots*, but its *head*. This tree, Theophrastus relates, was propagated from its trunk, by cutting

off the top about two cubits down ; and after having so split and dilated its woody substance, as that its *εγκεφαλος*, or medullary — being the seat of the vital principle — might communicate with the soil ; then planting the cuttingⁿ. Hence, a glance at the coin will demonstrate that, the Palm upon it, is the *βαινη* of Simon. Nor could aught else have been so aptly chosen, to symbolize the *renovating condition* ° of the Jewish State^p. --- The reverse exhibits a

ⁿ — Ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στελέχους, ὅταν ἀφελῶσι τὸ ἀνω, ἐν ὧπερ ὁ ἐγκεφαλός. ἀφαιρουσί δὲ ὅσον διπλήχῃ· σχισάντες τούτῳ κατω τιθεασί τὸ ὕγρον. *Hist. Plant.* 11. 8.

° When a palm-tree, is deprived of its *εἰκεφαλός*, the old trunk intirely withers. Ὁ δὲ φοινῖξ ἰδὲν, ἐξαιρεθεὶς ὁ ἐγκεφαλός ὅλος ἀνασινετο. XENOPHON. *Exped.* 11. 139.

^p On the idea that *την βαινην* was an inexplicable term (as, but for this coin, it might still have remained), the text hath been thought vitiated, and *βαινην* proposed in its stead. The common, however, is the genuine reading: for *βαις* signifies neither a branch, nor shoot, of the palm-tree; but that ramification of stalks from within the integument, on which the dates depend. Thus PORPHYRY: — Κοίη δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν σπαδικῶν τοῦ φοινίκου, ἌΣ

Lyre, to indicate that, *harmony* was restored between Demetrius and the Jews ⁹.

But, if Kircher's coin, number 4, had this event for its object, to what then does the *third* of Bayer refer? --- It may be answered: *the recovery of their CAPITAL by the Jews*. Tryphon, having not only usurped the crown, but the claims of a Syrian king; urged his pretensions so strenuously against both Demetrius and the Jewish nation, that, the former, as the only alternative for preserving his throne, declared the latter to be free. This emancipation is denominated by the Historian,

καλουσι ΒΑΙΣ, επιπλεκτο. *De abstinent.* II. 7. — Ὡς δὲ ὁ
της αμπελου κλαδος, κλημα· και ὁ της ελαιας, θαλλος· οὕτω
και ὁ του φοινικος, ΣΠΑΔΙΞ. POLLUX. VII. 147.

⁹ In consequence of this union, "*The FOUR Governments*" devolved upon Simon: the *Lyre* he adopted, was therefore *tetrachordal*. See MACCAB. XI. 57. — In allusion to the *same* instrument, the *union* between *Dio-cletian* and his *three* Colleagues, is stiled πανάρμονιον ΤΕΤΡΑΧΟΡΔΟΝ, by JULIAN, in his *Caesars*. 315.

“ *the taking away the yoke of the Heathen from Israel:*” language applicable to the imposts of Demetrius and his Predecessors, but not to the demands of Tryphon: for these were posterior to his views on the crown. The abettors of this Usurper, who had been some time fortified in the citadel of Jerusalem, continued to maintain it on his behalf; and could he have kept the possession, notwithstanding the immunity Demetrius had granted, the Nation must have experienced the same despotism from him, it had felt from the Kings of Syria. As then the *union* of the BAINH with the CROWN, expressed the *alliance* between the Jews in their *independent capacity*, and Demetrius as *Sovereign of Syria*^r;

^r The laurel of the Syrian crown appears on coin 4, *destitute of fruit*; nor was this peculiarity undesigned. For though, before the emancipation of the Jews, Demetrius arrogated “ *a third of the seed of their land, and the half of the fruit of their trees*;” [1 MACCAB. X. 30.] yet whilst he was unable to exact the payment, this

so the ΦΟΙΝΙΞ ^s released from the CROWN, intimated their freedom from the Usurper's restriction.

claim of the crown was fruitless ; and when the Nation was declared free, the tax itself ceased. — On coin 3, the same crown is represented, *with its fruit* ; and for as obvious a reason ; since Tryphon, who had assumed it, contended for its claims. — See note * page 45.

* This palm-branch, exhibited on coin 3, appears to have been the כף, or *Basov*, mentioned in LEVIT. XXIII. 40. I MACCAB. XIII. 51, JOHN XII. 14, which MAIMONIDES, in הלכות, thus describes : — כפת תמרים האמורות בתורה הן חריות של דקל כשיצמחו קודם שיתפרדו העליון של הן לכאן ולכאן אלא כשיהיה כמו שרביט : *The palm-branches, of which mention is made in the Law, are shoots of the palm-tree in a state of foliation, before the leaves detach themselves from each other in different directions, and whilst they cohere like a SCEPTRE.* — As the precise state of germination in the palm-כף, is here ascertained, from its similarity to a sceptre ; so the germination of the sceptre, in the dream of Clytemnestra, may be explained, in return, by the כף : E L E C T R A, 417.

Λογ' τις αὐτὴν εἶν' εἰσιδεῖν παῖρος
 Τοῦ σου τε καὶ μου δευτέραν ὁμίλιαν
 Ἐλθὼντος εἰς Φῶς· εἶτα τὸνδ' ἐφεξίον
 Πηξαι λαβὼντα ΣΚΗΠΤΡΟΝ ὑφορεῖ ποτε
 Αὐτ', τανν' δ' Ἀγισθοῦ· ἐκ τε τοῦδ' ἀνω
 ΒΛΑΣΤΕΙΝ ΒΡΥΟΝΤΑ ΘΑΛΛΟΝ, ὡ καλασκιον
 Πάσαν γενέσθαι τὴν Μυκηναίων χθονά.

The *legends* also of the coins, confirm this account: for whilst, שמעון נשיא ישראל, *Simon ethnarch of Israel*, and שנת אחת, *In the first year of the redemption of Israel*, coincide with the words of the Historian: ---“ Thus the yoke of the Heathen was taken away from ISRAEL, &c. in the first year of Simon the High-Priest, the governor and leader of the Jews:” --- in reference to the immunity obtained from Demetrius: so enough, on coin 3, remains to attest, that, שמעון *Simon*, and, לחרות, *for the redemption of JERUSALEM*, must have refered to *the surrender of THAT CITADEL*, by which the immunity of the Jews from the Syrian crown, was rendered

“ This is the voice of rumor, that she saw
Thine and my father, to the light return'd,
Once more her husband ; in the earth he fix'd
The SCEPTRE of his ancestors, which once
He bore, but now Aegisthus ; from its top
Sprouted a vigorous growth, and spread its shade
Wide o'er Mycenae and its ample realms.”

complete. Now, though this event did not immediately follow the former, it however took place in the *first* year of Simon, as may be infered from one of the legends: for, notwithstanding the coin be without date, the omission of the ' in ושלם between the ל and ם, is a known peculiarity to those of *that* year.

Reland, who supplied what these legends have lost, describes the כנור, *kanor*, or *harp*, on the reverse of coin 3, as designed for the emblem of *thanksgiving*¹; that being the instrument appropriate to religious joy; the voice of which had ceased, from the time Jerusalem had laid void, and the Sanctuary been trodden down of the Heathen; till the triumphant entry of Simon, with thanksgivings, palm-branches, and harps: “*be-*

¹ See the passage of RELAND cited by BAYER, *De Num. Hebr. Sam.* 151.

*cause, by this conquest, there was destroyed
A GREAT ENEMY out of Israel."*

Upon the restoration of the Jewish independence, other coins were stricken, on which the Nation was no longer symbolized by a *branch*, or *plant*, of the PALM; but *the TREE ITSELF, yielding its fruit*. This revolution being, in effect, a RENOVATION of *the JEWISH OECONOMY*, the devices for their coins were judiciously selected from the leading particulars of its *original constitution*. Hence, an obvious reason may be given, why their legends should be inscribed in characters, which, though no longer retained in ordinary use, were *coeval* " with the *archetypes* represented on the coins.

" For evidence on this subject, see *De Num. Hebr. Sam.* 240, &c.



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